1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

858 593 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 868 855 872 From the age of four until they go to school for their compulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half and seven years, children remain for the most part in their mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.

857 867 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 858 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will [203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

869 858 593 872 As their six years of schooling advance, children become progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their father is conditional on their living up to the standards which are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
[593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, (593) first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. (152) Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, (182) since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

596 /176 cont./
474 ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

596 INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.
474
554 The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato. This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative.
[428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active, and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns
[807] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the
[868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge and his experience.